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The following report is based on a Communist document entitled "Struggle Against Awaitingism" which was confiscated in the Government raids of October 1950. The document apparently was written by Gregorio Santayana, which is a pseudonym used by Jose Lava, who is also known as Gaston and as Gaston Silayan. Jose Lava was apprehended in the Government raids and has been on trial with other alleged members of the Philippine Communist Party Political Bureau. Although the document is undated, it is believed to have been written approximately in June 1950, presumably for distribution through the Party's propaganda channels.

STRUGGLE AGAINST AITISM

By Gregorio Santayana

I. Introduction:

Since the November 1949 elections, and especially after the readiness of the Nacionalista Party leadership to collaborate with the corrupt Liberal Party became openly apparent, there has been a rapid exposure of both the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party and other non-Communist parties before the masses. The basic causes for this exposure are the growing economic crisis and the corresponding deterioration of the living standards of the people, the persistence of graft and corruption within the highest levels of the legislative and executive departments of the Government, and the wholesale use of fraud and terrorism during the last elections. Needless to say, all these causes are rooted in imperialist-feudal domination of our country, and puppetry of our native ruling classes to American imperialism.

With the recent imperialist provocation in Korea leading to American imperialist intervention in Korean affairs, the American puppets in our country utilized the issue to close their ranks and appeal to the disillusioned masses for support under the screen of the danger of "internal Communist subversion."

As the situation now stands, it is most probable that under the prodling pressure of their imperialist masters, the class-conscious and confused puppets would be rallied around an anti-Communist, pro-imperialist

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coalition of anti-Communist and non-Communist parties and leaders. However, considering the disillusionment of the exploited peasants and workers with the various bourgeois parties, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the imperialists and their puppets to rally such a coalition, notwithstanding the anti-Communist prejudices resulting from the continuous poisoning of their minds by the imperialist puppet apologists.

The political alignment of forces has already reached the stage in which there is a clear shift away from the bourgeois non-Communist parties, but all non-Communist parties combined still enjoy a slight edge over the IEB under Communist leadership, as far as the sympathies of the people are concerned. While the influence of the IEB led by the Communist Party (CP) is positively increasing because its policy of organizational and military expansion in formerly undeveloped territories is being implemented, much of the present influence of the IEB and the CP is of the awaitist passive type, merely because the masses are disillusioned with the bourgeois parties.

This brings us to the problem of awaitism, which is the most important political problem confronting the struggle for national liberation under Communist leadership.

II. The Basic Problem of Awaitism:

Before proceeding into the manifestations, root causes and screens to hide the real root causes of awaitism, it is first necessary to define the term awaitism.

Awaitism is a phenomenon existing not only within the Party, but also within the Communist-led national liberation movement, and among the unorganized masses, whereby people who are already convinced national liberation can only be achieved by armed struggle, either do not participate in such a struggle, or else participate haphazardly. From this definition two points are clear. Awaitism is not only a disease affecting the unorganized masses, it affects the organized struggle for national liberation and even the Party leading such struggle as well. Awaitism is manifested in various degrees, from total non-participation to non-total participation in struggle.

What are the manifestations of awaitism? The most extensive manifestation of awaitism can be found among the unorganized masses of exploited peasants and workers who already believe in the armed struggle, but do not yet belong to Party sponsored organizations of one form or another in order to contribute to the early achievement of an overthrow of the rule of the class enemy. Within the organized movements for national liberation, awaitism manifests itself in the evasion of violent struggle with the enemy, in the hope that the revolutionary developments outside our country will carry along our national liberation struggle into final victory. The ideological manifestation of this form of awaitism is the wish expressed by organized masses for the coming of the Russians or Chinese to liberate our country from foreign imperialist domination, and even in a subconscious desire for a war which would bring about a rapid conclusion to their sufferings; while simultaneously they evade open struggle with the internal class enemies.

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Within the Party, awaitism manifests itself in evasion of leading violent struggles with the enemy for individual self-preservation; adoption of inflexible underground techniques to the point of ineffectiveness in order to prevent individual discovery and to prolong the relatively comfortable mode of legal existence; the non-readiness to abandon everything, including employment, family and comforts in order to devote full time to the revolution; and among full-time professional revolutionaries, the absence of single-mindedness in their devotion to the revolution. Even among the most professional revolutionaries, one cannot yet find a complete devotion to the revolution to the almost total exclusion of other worldly cares, which borders on complete selflessness.

What are the root causes of these various manifestations of awaitism? In general, awaitism is a non-Communist, non-proletarian ideology having its roots in petty bourgeois individualism, selfishness, wavering and indecisiveness. In this connection it must be borne to mind that the peasantry (except the landless peasants) is a part of the petty bourgeoisie, and our workers are just a generation removed from the peasantry and lack a long tradition of collective action and militance. This explains awaitist tendencies even among our most exploited peasants and workers. On the other hand, it is not difficult to explain the awaitism of the relatively comfortable petty bourgeoisie, including petty bourgeois intellectuals. Notwithstanding their more comprehensive theoretical understanding of the issues involved, their relatively comfortable mode of life, consciously, unconsciously or subconsciously conditions both their thinking and their actions.

Concretely we have the following causes of awaitism: a) incomplete class and political consciousness, b) underestimation of the tempo of the struggle because of the incorrect appraisal of the relation of forces which is caused by the tendency to overestimate the strength of the enemy and to believe the myth of American invincibility, c) relatively tolerable conditions of life, resulting from the absence of inner dispositions to drive people to complete participation in struggles, d) opportunism manifested in weighing relative advantages to be derived personally from an all-out participation in the struggle as compared to all-out participation later, when victory is already knocking at the door, and e) fear in all its forms, such as fear of losing employment, or of losing one's life, which arises from ignorance of methods of struggle without unnecessarily risking one's life or employment.

Only the first of these concrete causes of awaitism requires more elaboration. Class and political consciousness involves not merely an understanding of the class struggle, the nature of the state and its role in the class struggle, and the necessity for revolution to overthrow the rule of the exploiters and institute a new state controlled by the formerly exploited classes. It involves a correct grasp of the proletarian attitude of selflessness and the subordination of self to the whole, with all its implications, as well. It can be seen from this elaboration of class and political consciousness that other causes of awaitism are merely derivative causes rooted in the basic existence of incomplete class and political consciousness.

In the process of the Party's struggle against awaitism within its ranks and among both the organized and unorganized masses, certain difficulties have been encountered because of the screens being employed by persons affected by awaitist tendencies, to hide the true motivation of their awaitism.

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What are those screens? Within the ranks of the Party, the most common screen, and one difficult to detect because of its connection with a human cadre policy, is the so-called family problem. In the course of our drive to send out expansion cadres to undeveloped areas, the most common excuse which delayed implementation of our expansion plans was the family problem. In some cases, it was discovered that the cadres in question were unemployed, and instead of supporting their families were actually an additional burden to them. It was obvious that their reluctance in accepting expansion assignments was not their family problem, but merely a desire to await final victory. In many cases the cadres in question were employed, and it was extremely difficult to prove their awaitism, until they were questioned bluntly "How do you expect your family to live if you die, or if you should be the object of an enemy search, and are forced to abandon them?" Invariably their answer was that the families would have to shift for themselves. In many cases the more honest cadres finally admitted that their reluctance to accept expansion assignments was really a consequence of awaitism, and that their family problem was merely secondary.

Another very common screen, and one which is also difficult to pierce, is the excuse that "the masses are not yet ready" and that to lead them in militant struggles would only result in destroying unity or in driving the masses away from our cause. In some instances this is true, but in many instances it is merely an excuse designed to hide the fact that the leaders themselves are the persons who are not ready to lead militant struggles because they fear personal consequences which might result from such a militant action.

A third common screen is an alleged discontent with Party leadership, either because of alleged incorrect cadre policy, or alleged disagreement with the Party's political line. In some cases the more subtle cadres write memorandums on their disagreement with the Party policies, in order to hide a more basic motivation of awaitism or an unwillingness to leave their families and devote full time to the revolution. One member of the Political Bureau was expelled because of his refusal to execute the Party election tactics of "critical support" for the Nacionalista Party, despite the fact that such minor policy deviation, which did not involve armed struggle, should not be a sufficient reason for risking expulsion from the Party. A deeper analysis of his motivation, considering his past activities such as his desire to go abroad to study, studying in a bourgeois school allegedly to improve his English, accepting employment for a living, and his reluctance to accept an expansion assignment, show that his refusal to execute the Party decision on election tactics was motivated by a desire to hide his deeper motive of awaitism. Now that he knows Party leadership is serious in expelling him, and that the Party and the Party-sponsored armed struggle are gaining in strength, he is attempting to cloak his motivation of awaitism by a theoretical memorandum on correct tactics before finally seeking entrance into the Party. Another Political Bureau member, also expelled for refusing to accept an expansion assignment because of careerism and awaitism, attempted to mask such awaitism and careerism by a memorandum on alleged incorrect cadre policy and alleged errors in theory by other Political Bureau members.

The most subtle screen that has been used to date is laziness, which even borders on irresponsibility. Some professional revolutionaries who have abandoned everything, including employment, family and comforts, have shown unusual laziness, bordering on irresponsibility, which cannot be explained other than as the product of awaitism which arises from an incorrect appraisal of the tempo of the struggle. Instead of vigorously fighting for the acceptance of their own appraisal or estimate, they prefer to remain in the minority. Consciously, unconsciously, or subconsciously, they act and adjust their own tempo of work to their own minority appraisal of the situation. This type of awaitism is not yet clearly understood within the Party, nor is it entirely understood by Party leadership itself.

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Among the unorganized masses, the most common screen is an alleged belief that we have not exhausted all legal, parliamentary methods of struggle. These masses are sympathetic to the aims of the HMB and are ready to give aid in one form or another, short of belonging to an organization. When pressed for an explanation for their reluctance to join an organization, their answer is that, while they sympathize with the aims of the HMB, they believe such aims can still be achieved by methods other than the armed struggle.

Another common screen utilized by people who do not want to join any organization is an alleged disagreement with the policy of armed struggle, contending that the common people become the victims of such struggle. They criticize our policy of involving the people in struggle, on the grounds that the common people themselves suffer, and not the enemies of the people. They argue vehemently in favor of the anarchistic policy of liquidating leaders who do not patronize the people. Such ideology is being used as a screen for their own unwillingness to engage in a continuing struggle by joining a revolutionary organization connected with the armed struggle for national liberation. Proof that such anarchistic ideology is merely a screen is shown by the fact that those who advocate such tactics do nothing to organize anarchist groups to implement the cause in which they profess to believe.

III. Concrete Methods of Struggle Against Awaitism:

In the tactical formulation of methods of struggling against awaitism it must be understood immediately that awaitism among the unorganized masses and within the organized movement for national liberation is essentially the result of awaitism within the Party itself, and that awaitism of the rank and file Party members is the result of conscious or unconscious awaitism which affects Party leadership, itself, including high and lower structures.

Consequently, the main link in our overall struggle against awaitism in all its forms, manifested within the Party and among both organized and unorganized masses, is the struggle against awaitism within the Party leadership, including higher and lower structures.

With this basic truth in mind, the following methods should be implemented in the struggle against all forms and manifestations of awaitism;

1. Improve Marxist education within the Party, not only to deepen the grasp of its members on the class struggle and its full implications and to raise their ability to correctly appraise the relation of conflicting forces and the tempo of the struggle, but more important, to project the correct proletarian Communist attitude of complete selflessness in the participation and leadership of the struggle, and to raise the political vigilance among members so they are able to detect the most subtle forms of opportunism affecting Party members, particularly the Party leadership.

It is not enough that Party members and leaders pay lip service to what Comrade Stalin said on the subject of Communists being of a different mold. It is not enough that we proclaim the Party and ourselves the vanguard of the national liberation struggle. We must translate these accepted facts about the Party and its members into living reality. In this task we should start with the highest Party leadership, which should set the example of complete selflessness and single-minded devotion to the cause of the revolution.

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How can the Party leadership set this example? There should be candid criticism and self-criticism and appraisal and self-appraisal within the ranks of the highest leadership, completely devoid of conciliation and the desire not to antagonize. Especially now that a revolutionary situation exists, and our task is to prepare for the seizure of power on a national scale, we cannot afford the slightest form or manifestation of opportunism, including careerism, conciliation, intellectual dishonesty or awaitism. The highest leadership of the Party should be a model of complete selflessness, intellectual integrity, self-sacrifice, moral and physical courage, sense of responsibility, industry, efficiency and discipline.

We have already made a good start in expelling appeasers and those who refused to abide by our discipline of democratic centralism. We should follow this through by a purge of opportunism and opportunists, without fear or favor. A purge conducted in the spirit of ridding the Party of opportunism and opportunists, devoid of other extraneous motivations, will serve to strengthen the Party, not weaken it.

The purge should be conducted from two directions; the leadership purging opportunism and opportunists within its ranks, but more important, the lower organizations and the rank and file, purging opportunism and opportunists within the Party leadership. So that the lower organizations and the rank and file members are able to properly exercise this task, their political vigilance must be raised.

How do we raise their political vigilance? Our educational materials should especially project the ideological struggles which were carried on within our more experienced brother parties, such as the struggle against the "left" and "right" deviationism within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the struggle against Titoism and nationalist deviationism, the struggle against Browderism, the ideological struggles within the Chinese Communist Party and our own ideological struggles. We should review our own intra-Party struggles to determine which errors were due to mere political immaturity and which were due to hidden motivations other than political immaturity. Such hidden motivations must be exposed so that we know and learn from them and are able to detect still undiscovered motivations.

2. Place the entire Party membership on a professional revolutionary basis, abolishing the distinction between professional and non-professional revolutionaries. Such distinction can have validity only when the revolutionary situation does not exist. With the existence of a revolutionary situation, and with the rapid approach of a decisive struggle for power which necessitates a many-fold increase in the strength of the Communist vanguard, the continuation of non-professional Party members is an anachronism.

It must be understood in this connection that while professional revolutionary work as a rule involves the complete abandonment of family, employment and comforts, in certain cases, the Party assignment necessitates retaining employment and continuing legal existence. This is especially true in the leadership of the remaining legal organizations and in such activities as intelligence within the enemy's ranks. These cases must be carefully considered by the Party leadership, and only persons whose assignments require continuation of employment and legal existence should be exceptions which are absolutely devoid of discrimination and conciliation.

Those Party members, regardless of their length of service in the revolution, who cannot measure up to the increased demands of Party membership, should be reduced to the status of sympathizers and mere members of any one of our revolutionary mass organizations, enjoying and undergoing organizational life which is a part of such mass organizations. This shall not apply to members who are incapable of meeting the increased demands of Party membership as a result of the revolution itself, such as persons who are maimed or who contracted serious illness as a direct result of their service in the Party and the revolution.

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This policy of placing the entire Party membership on a professional basis and of reducing those who cannot measure up to this new orientation to the status of sympathizers, does not in any way conflict with our new policy of mass recruiting for Party membership. In this connection, it should be clearly understood that while our policy is to make all our new recruits professional revolutionaries within the shortest time possible, the willingness to become professional revolutionaries should not be made a condition for membership for new recruits. Such professional revolutionary orientation should be developed in all our new recruits, by a process of involving them deeper in the struggle. Under this policy of mass recruiting, we give emphasis to decisive action, even if one's understanding of Marxism is still incomplete, and firmly reject revolutionary dilatorism and empty talk not implemented by decisive action.

3. Legal cadres who are leading legal mass movements should be closely supervised so that they will direct their mass organizations as militantly as possible. Leaders must be experienced in leading mass organizations so that they will not attempt 'adventurism' that may isolate the Party from the masses. Tendencies towards evasion of struggle or awaitism by legal cadres should be carefully observed. These cadres should be withdrawn underground if the Party leadership is convinced that they are affected by awaitist tendencies which cannot be totally eliminated if they are permitted to continue their legal struggle and existence. Unwillingness to accept the decision of the Party under such conditions should be sufficient grounds for reducing the cadres to the status of sympathizers.

4. The performance of Party cadres who are permitted to retain employment and legal existence, but who are performing underground assignments, should be carefully observed and their assignments, decisions and practice in carrying out underground technique noted. Those who refuse reasonable assignments or habitually do not perform the duties assigned to them on time, either because they want to avoid discovery, or are giving their jobs priority over their Party assignments, should be withdrawn underground and ordered to work and struggle underground. Refusing to accept a new assignment in such a situation should be sufficient grounds for reducing such cadres to the status of Party sympathizers.

5. Full time professional revolutionaries who show laziness to the point of irresponsibility should be severely criticized. If criticism does not change their laziness, they should be demoted to less responsible positions. If demotion does not change their laziness, they should be reduced to the status of sympathizers if the laziness is due to causes other than awaitism, and expelled from the Party membership if awaitism is the cause. The most dangerous form of awaitism is that manifested in the form of laziness of professional revolutionaries since it can serve either as an example to other professional revolutionaries, or to create discontent among them, particularly if they are leading cadres of the Party.

6. We must intensify our military struggle in order to give the enemy no rest, and even more important, to counteract any tendencies towards awaitism on the part of our armed forces and the Party members directing these forces, as well as on the part of the unorganized masses. We must demonstrate strength to the less politically minded and consequently more opportunistic masses, in order to counteract their awaitism and encourage them to join revolutionary mass organizations under our leadership. This will help in an organized way, in the armed struggle for national liberation.

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7. Aggressive execution of our organizational and military expansion plans is necessary so that we can reach as soon as possible those masses who are already convinced of the inevitability of armed struggle, and look up to the IEB under Communist leadership for direction. We must organize these masses into the IEB or other revolutionary organizations under our leadership.

8. It is necessary to conduct intensive and extensive mass propaganda to expose the ideological and class motivations of the bourgeoisie, non-Communist parties and leaders who preach the ideology of parliamentarism, reformism and awaitism. Acceleration of the acceptance of a revolutionary position by those masses who are still following non-Communist leadership, is also necessary so that they may be assimilated into an active organized revolutionary front.

9. The shameless provocation, subsequent intervention and increasingly obvious retreat of United States imperialist forces in Korea should be utilized to arouse anti-imperialist feelings and to shatter the myth of American invincibility which is so carefully nurtured by imperialist-puppet propaganda. We must show that when the people are united and determined to free themselves from foreign exploitation and domination, they can successfully overthrow the rule of the imperialist puppets and drive away the imperialist interventionists.

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